

Message Text

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E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PINT HU

SUBJECT: DETAILS ON HEGEDUS GROUP HERESIES

REF: BUDAPEST 2308

1. MTI WEEKEND ENGLISH BULLETIN CARRIES LONG ARTICLE
ON SINS OF HEGEDUS GROUP BASED ON REPORTS OF COMMUNIST
PARTY INVESTIGATING TEAM CARRIED IN JOURNALS MAGYAR
FILOZOFIAI SZEMLE AND SZOCIOLOGIA. ACCORDING MTI,
ALTOGETHER SEVERN SCHOLARS INVOLVED: IN ADDITION TO HEGEDUS,
VAJDA AND KIS, THEY ARE SOCIOLOGISTS AGNES HELLER,
MARIA MARKUS, GYORGY MARKUS, AND GYORGY BENCE. ACCORDING
TO THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE " CULTURAL POLICY RESEARCH
GROUP" WHICH MADE THE INVESTIGATION, MAIN HERESIES OF
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SEVEN WERE DENYING REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF WORKING CLASS
AND ARGUING IN FAVOR OF MARXIST PLURALISM.

2. MATERIAL FROM WHICH ACCUSATIONS AGAINST HEGEDUS GROUP
WERE DRAWN INCLUDED LECTURE ENTITLED " MODERNIZATION AND
ALTERNATIVES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT" WHICH WAS GIVEN BY
HEGEDUS AND MRS. MARKUS AT A CONFERENCE IN WARSAW SPONSORED
BY A US FOUNDATION OF WHICH COPIES WERE PRINTED AND DIS-
TRIBUTED; LECTURE OF AGNES HELLER IN USA ENTITLED " THEORY
AND PRACTICE FROM VIEWPOINT OF HUMAN REQUIREMENTS;" AND
VAJDA ARTICLE IN AMERICAN " NEO- LEFTIST" JOURNAL " TELOS,"
ENTITLED " MARXISM, EXISTENTIALISM, AND PHENOMENOLOGY."
IN CASES OF BENCE, KIS AND GYORGY MARKUS CHARGES MADE
ON BASIS OF UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS.

3. MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE APPARENTLY IS HEGEDUS- MARKUS
LECTURE WHICH DESCRIBED TWO MAIN TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT
IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. ONE IS " STATE ADMINISTRATIVE
MODEL:" IN WHICH ECONOMY IS OPERATED ACCORDING TO SOCIAL
REQUIREMENTS EXPRESSED IN PLANS, BUT THESE REQUIREMENTS
" ARE DEFINED BY BUREAUCRATIC APPARATUSES" (HEGEDUS- MARKUS)
AND ABOVE ALL ACCORDING TO THE POWER AND STRATUM INTERESTS
OF THE BUREAUCRACY. OTHER TENDENCY IS ON " MAIN ROAD"
(HEGEDUS- MARKUS) ALREADY TRAVELLED BY DEVELOPED CAPITALIST
COUNTRIES WHICH TRIES TO ENSURE MORE DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT
THROUGH A RETURN TO MARKET ORIENTATION. HEGEDUS GROUP
BELIEVES, ACCORDING MTI, THAT ONLY THING REALLY SOCIALIST
ABOUT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS THEIR OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY-- THEY
CANNOT DEMONSTRATE EITHER MORE DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT OR
MORE HUMANE SOCIAL CONDITIONS THAN CAPITALIST STATES.

4. COMMENTING ON THE HEGEDUS GROUP, MTI (PARAPHRASING
THE PARTY INVESTIGATORS) SAYS: " IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS
THEY ATTACH THEIR HOPES TO THE SAME " DEVELOPMENT TRENDS"
OF SOCIALISM AS THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM: TO THE REDUCTION
OF THE MASS INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, TO THE MASSES TURNING AWAY FROM THE
PROGRAM OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION ADOPTED IN THESE COUNTRIES,
TO THE DEVELOPMENT AND RIGIDIFICATION OF CONFLICTS WITHIN
SOCIALIST SOCIETY, AND TO A TREND WHICH WILL GIVE THE
BUREAUCRACY A PLURALISTIC ORIENTATION, MOREOVER TO INTER-
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NATIONAL POWER RELATIONS BEING SHAPED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO
FAVOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND EXPLOITATION OF INTERNAL CONFLICTS."

5. AGNES HELLER ACCUSED OF DENYING REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER
OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND OF ARGUING THAT FIDELITY TO
MARXISM REQUIRES EXPERIMENTATION " ALONG OTHER ROADS".
(HELLER) MORE CONCRETELY, HELLER ALLEGEDLY PROPOSED

ORIENTATION TOWARD " ULTRA- RADICAL YOUTH AND STUDENT MOVEMENTS OF THE DEVELOPED CAPITALIST COUNTRIES." (MTI)
VAJDA ALSO ACCUSED OF FAVORING PLURALISM AND ALSO OF
REFUTING INEVITABILITY OF DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

6. SUMMING UP, PARTY ANALYSIS NOTES THAT ALTHOUGH SEVERAL OF ACCUSED WERE STUDENTS OF THE LATE GYORGY LUKACS, THEIR VIEWS NOW HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH HIS. " LUKACS' S VIEWS RCSHARPLY REPUDIATE ALL ATTEMPTS TO PLURALIZE MARXISM. THE VIEWS SHAPED IN THE WRITINGS MENTIONED ARE CONTRARY IN ALL ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS TO THE BASIC THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL STRIVINGS EXPRESSED IN LUKACS' S MARXIST LIFE WORK."

7. COMMENT: VIEWS OF HEGEDUS GROUP SUMMARIZED ABOVE CLEARLY FAR OUT OF BOUNDS BY OFFICIAL STANDARDS AND ONLY QUESTION IF SHY REGIME DID NOT CRACK DOWN LONG TIME AGO. WE ADDRESS THIS IN SEPARATE TELEGRAM. MOST INTERESTING POINT IS STRESS IN CHARGES ON " NEW LEFT" HERESIES, RATHER THAN THOSE OF BOURGEOIS CAPITALIST TYPE. INTERESTING ALSO IS FACT THAT MTI, IN OTHERWISE DETAILED ARTICLE, GIVES NO DATES OF HERETICAL WRITINGS CITED PARA 2. INFERENCE IS THAT THEY ARE SEVERAL YEARS OLD. ALSO " NEW LEFT" IDEAS WERE MUCH MORE IN VOGUE FEW YEARS AGO THAN THEY ARE NOW.
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